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pasture which he was willing to rent to Vasili for the weeks that remained before the Sarakatsani began their journey to the Zagori mountains. Spiros paid him twelve pounds for the use of the pasture and sent a message to Vasili to bring his surviving animals as quickly as possible before they, too, contracted the disease. He also told him to send his wife and children to Spiros' own home, since it would not be worth while constructing new huts for so short a time.

At the time, I suggested to Spiros that he had acted very generously towards Vasili. But he could only shrug his shoulders, not in modesty for this was entirely foreign to his nature, but because he felt that his conduct was only natural and did not call for any explanation. At the same time he made it quite clear that Vasili would have to repay the twelve pounds. He admitted without embarrassment that Vasili would be in great difficulties for many years to come. Nevertheless each family had its own responsibilities, for instance he himself was hoping to set up one of his sons as a shopkeeper in Jannina. He did not expect repayment this year or even next. And anyway, he added, Vasili would not allow him to forget the debt. In fact, later in the summer of the same year when Vasili had received a much reduced sum of money for the sale of his milk, he at once repaid the loan. Spiros' comment to me was simply, 'You see how quickly he paid off the debt. We have trust in our kinsmen.' The time and energy which Spiros gave to the arrangement of his kinsman's affairs, the use of his valuable patronage relationships with a Ministry official and the mayor of a local town, were favours freely given, mere incidents in the personal relations of cousins. But the money, although not a particularly large sum, was part of the wealth of the family and under no circumstance could it be alienated.

2. COUSINS

Cousins are the most significant of a person's collateral kinsmen both for purposes of practical co-operation and for simple companionship. This is particularly true of the periods immediately before and after marriage. For these are the years when the individual's social reputation and prestige are judged by the community, and when the problems and difficulties of establishing a family require the practical assistance and moral support of

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605 612 a wide circle of kin. It is entirely consistent with these needs that the collateral extension of the kindred is wider in a person's own generation than in either the first ascendant or descendant generations. As the children of a family approach adult status, a father through the identification of his interests with those of his children, is drawn less into the affairs of his own cousins and becomes more concerned with the cousins of his children's kindred, who from his point of view include affinal relatives as well as the children of his own siblings and first cousins.

605 The essence of cousinhood, as indeed of all collateral kinship, is that measure of confidence and altruism to which we have referred more than once. Cousins are the children or grandchilden of siblings and the values of cousinship contain the ideal that their affections are like those of brothers and sisters. Cousins are genuinely concerned about each others' successes or misfortunes, hopes and fears. When a man meets a cousin after a long interval of time there is obvious pleasure on both sides. They find a quiet corner away from other people and a conversation begins which, if circumstances allow, may continue for many hours. There is a certain conventional sequence of topics. At first there are detailed inquiries about the health of each member of the two families. This is followed by an exchange of information about sheep and grazing, marriages and match-making in either family or amongst their kinsmen. Afterwards the talk ranges in random fashion over many subjects, the local personalities and gossip of their villages, the latest oppressive measure of government bureaucrats. What is so striking about the private talk of kinsmen is its fluency, freedom, and its mellow modulated tones. It presents a striking contrast with the talk of unrelated Sarakatsani in the forum of the village square or coffee-shop. There, conversation is a contest of wits, cast in a compulsively restrained monosyllabic form, yet accompanied with the striking of assertive attitudes. It is not intended as a means for exchanging information but rather as a form of protagonistic competition.

605 836 [684] 000 There are certain kinds of general social intercourse which are possible only between kinsmen, more especially between cousins. For the Sarakatsani, marriage and sexual relations cannot be separated. A girl who loses her honour is in danger of her life at the hands of her own family. The importance of virginity

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The importance of virginity

is such that it leads to the complete segregation of the sexes amongst unmarried persons. Only in the family and the kindred is it possible for unmarried persons of opposite sex even to hold conversation. And it will be remembered that generally men do not marry until they are thirty, girls until they are about twenty-five. These two circumstances, a relatively late age of marriage, and the segregation of the sexes except in the family and kindred, inevitably add to the value of an unmarried boy's social relations with his young female cousins; for apart from his own sisters, they are the only unmarried women of his own generation with whom he is allowed to have any contact. A youth is very close to his sister to whom he is bound by categorical obligations, yet his behaviour with her is restrained. With female cousins, on the other hand, he behaves in a familiar manner which includes a good deal of mutual teasing and bodily contact. Particularly among first cousins of opposite sex between the ages of thirteen and sixteen familiarity is expressed in playful wrestling, bottom smacking, and cheek pinching. Generally, teasing between second cousins of opposite sex is a little more restrained; for here one approaches the margin of kinship. The girl is a kinswoman but she is also almost a 'stranger' in terms of kinship distance. The risk, for a boy, of being tempted into some sexual misconduct is inherently greater. Friendship between rather older cousins takes the form of lounging before the hearth, the youth perhaps resting his head on the girl cousin's shoulder while they talk and joke. In this context teasing is a social convention which permits a form of very mild and unacknowledged sexual byplay, yet absolutely prohibits any degree of overt sexuality and is easily rationalized as being 'only a game'. It reconciles the two guises under which a female cousin appears to the youth; first, as the only female company of his own age that he is permitted to enjoy outside his family until he reaches the age of thirty; and secondly, as a kinswoman whose honour he is bound in faith and trust to uphold.

If young kinsmen and kinswomen find in each other the only heterosexual companionship which is permitted outside the family, it is also true in a more general sense that in this community true friendship is only possible between kinsmen. Friends are, necessarily, kinsmen. From this general body of relatives a

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572 man finds perhaps two or three cousins with whom his friend-
605 ship is particularly intimate; this is a relationship based on sym-
612 pathy and mutual concern for the other, it is the delight taken in the company of the other person for the quality of sociability itself. But these relations of affection and uncalculating trust
572 tend not to be with cousins with whom a man co-operates, or
605 has co-operated, in the day-to-day management of the same
612 flocks. The goodwill of kinsmen is important both in those
476 situations where purpose, aim, and practical interest are involved, and for its own sake where pleasure is taken in the quality of a friendly sympathetic relationship. In both instances a man finds in his kinsman what lack of trust and antipathy prevents him from seeking in an unrelated individual. But there is a difference between a relationship of co-operation and one of sympathetic friendship. Men who herd their sheep together in the same 'company', are concerned in co-operation between corporate family groups; the obligations of this co-operative activity are specific and quasi-contractual, requiring restraint, discipline, and calculated book-keeping. These are elements at odds with the free, unrestrained, attitudes of devoted personal friendship in which obligations are diffuse not specific in character. In principle one cannot deny a friend what he asks. Therefore, friendship between kinsmen flourishes better where the demands put upon it fall into the category of free favours. And this is more likely to be the case where cousins do not work together.

605 This last consideration raises the question whether there is any significant variation in the degree or quality of solidarity between the various categories of first cousins. Marriage is patrilocal and brothers live for a number of years after their marriage in a united extended family; afterwards they may continue to co-operate as a single sheep management group until their children are often in late adolescence. Although these cousins are unlikely to share a relationship of devoted personal friendship, there is the fact or the memory of common service to the same flocks and of essentially identified interests. The possession of the same surname and the value placed upon relationships which are mediated through male kinsmen, are further factors which encourage a formal preference for cousins who are father's brother's children. Equally, however, early childhood in a joint household and co-operative labour in early

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youth provide enough incidents to nourish any personal aversion which for one reason or another may have arisen between young cousins. And if brothers quarrel, this, of course, inevitably affects the relations of their children. But a marked coolness between cousins of this class is rare; the Neochori group of 317 Sarakatsani provides only one example.

Relations between men and women who are reciprocally mother's brother's children and father's sister's children are almost always close and affectionate. These cousins are the children of a sister and brother whose relationship before the sister's marriage was governed by categorical obligations which concerned the honour of the girl, her brother, and the whole family. For the sister who arrives at her wedding day with a reputation in the community for right conduct, a brother has feelings of deep gratitude and trust which he expresses in his constant anxious inquiries about her welfare from anyone he meets who lives near her husband's huts. He is always ready to help his brother-in-law, however little he may like him personally, in order to make life a little easier for his sister and her children. And since women spend much time discussing kinsmen and their affairs, the sister's children learn at an early age about their cousins who are the children of her brother. But the relations of these cousins are not only a question of sentiment and its extension. Marriage is a contract between two unrelated families; and despite mutual distrust both groups are interested to consolidate their alliance. In the early years the two families of origin of the married pair may find in it a useful addition to the range of their co-operative relationships. However, the true concern of the husband and his wife's brothers is that their children shall not lack the support of a strong and devoted kindred. Their children are reciprocally those cousins who normally live in different localities and do not co-operate in sheep management. Between them there ought to be the kind of trust and sympathy which lead to deep friendship, the exchange of free favours, and that measure of general moral support without which a man's reputation cannot survive for long among the Sarakatsani.

From time to time there are opportunities to strengthen the affective quality of these relations. For a number of years after her marriage a woman pays one or possibly two visits a year to

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605 574 [593] her parents' home and takes her young children with her. These visits which last for five or six days are eagerly looked forward to by the children who find there new playfellows and grandparents, uncles, and aunts far more indulgent than those at their own home. The inevitable frictions and jealousies of communal life do not threaten the cross-cousin relationship in its formative period; on the contrary it grows in an atmosphere of gaiety, holiday, and permissiveness. It is, then, not surprising that in seven cases out of ten a man names a cousin of this category as [426] his most intimate and trusted friend. In later life these cousins are remarkably generous and trusting, and there is a noticeable tendency for cousins related in this way to give small money loans at moments of need or unexpected crisis.

In general, cousins who are related through their mothers' sisters are less likely to have known one another in childhood, and relations in adult life are usually based on the conventional 605 existence of cousinship. Married sisters do not pay one another 574 the kind of formal visit which lasts for a number of days unless 593 their husbands have developed common interests on the basis of their affinal connection. Relations will be more intimate where the two sisters have married men who live in the same summer or winter neighbourhood. The two women will make informal daily visits and their husbands will encourage the [582] children to form close friendships with their cousins. Sometimes a man arranges a marriage between his own cousin and his wife's sister. If the cousin is a father's brother's son, the two sisters may find themselves close neighbours and, perhaps, work- 605 ing in the same co-operating 'company'. Yet even where two [609] young men who are sisters' sons meet for the first time at a wedding or village festival they at once adopt the easy, friendly, and sympathetic attitude towards one another which is typical of the cousin relationship at all times, and equally foreign to the behaviour which must be adopted towards an unrelated person of the same sex and age, even where this unrelated person has been a close neighbour and has shared the same school desk.

[591] The feature of cross-cousin or maternal parallel cousin relationships which distinguishes them from the ties between brothers' sons is that they generally involve physical separation, since sisters in a system of patrilocal marriage must leave the parental home. Men prefer to bring their brides from a distant

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Men prefer to bring their brides from a distant quarter of the scattered community, both because they seek to establish strategic alliances in neighbourhoods other than their own, and because of the fear of trouble with affines if the young bride is within easy tale-telling distance of her own family. What is decisive in these cousin relationships is whether regular visits are exchanged or whether contact between the cousins must rely on the chance meeting at a wedding or a village festival. On the other hand, where cross-cousins or maternal parallel cousins happen to live in the same neighbourhood, and more especially if they co-operate in sheep management, their relations are of the kind which generally exist between the sons of brothers.

In these distinctions it is not the kind of cousin relationship itself which is strictly relevant (for the norms of kinship behaviour towards cousins are the same whatever the mediating links in the relationship), but whether cousins live near to one another and possibly work together in daily co-operation, or whether they live at a distance and, if so, whether there are regular opportunities for exchanging visits or not. There are, then, two important classes of first cousins; those who live in the same summer neighbourhood and who co-operate or have at some time co-operated in sheep management; and those who live in other neighbourhoods in summer and winter. (The classification is not, of course, exhaustive.) The two classes of cousins give a man and his family different but complementary forms of support.

The attitude of friendly interest and affectionate concern which exists between cousins is also present in a man's relations with his uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces. The differences which have been described between various types of first cousin relationships have their analogues in the ties which exist between uncles, aunts, nephews, and nieces. Uncles who are fathers' brothers are known better than brothers of the mother but they are not always loved better. The wicked uncle, though he is not a common figure, is generally a father's brother with whom the father has quarrelled. The favourite uncle is generally a mother's brother who was excessively indulgent to his nephews and nieces when they came on periodical visits. Aunts who are father's sisters are generally well known but mother's sisters may be seen very seldom.

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604 In general, uncles and aunts, as in our own society, are notoriously indulgent towards their nephews and nieces in their childhood days. Of the father's brothers who may be living for a time in the same extended household, it is the unmarried uncles who are the favourites of the children, dandling them on the knee and buying them sweets; between the married uncles and their young nephews and nieces there is, necessarily, more restraint. Uncles may attempt occasionally to lecture young nephews and nieces but the relationship at this age is essentially one of permissive familiarity. In his adolescence a nephew shows a more formal respect to his uncles who are by this time almost all married men at the height of their powers, yet even now the relationship is nearer to one of easy camaraderie than careful respect. But after his marriage and even for some years before it, the nephew in manner and conversation pays less and less attention to his uncle who is now generally an old man on the brink of retirement if he has not already been forced into it. There is often a touch of impatience in a nephew's attitude to his old uncle; almost, indeed, an air of patronage, though he does not generally show him public disrespect. Affection remains, but an old uncle is of little account in the affairs of the community except occasionally if it is necessary to find a precedent from the past for action in some puzzling situation. For the adult man or woman the practical significance of an uncle or aunt is their function as a mediating link with their children, the cousins of an individual's own age and generation who provide comradeship and support in facing the problems of life in a competitive and hostile community.

3. THE EFFECTIVE KINDRED

612 474 605 In many situations formal kinship distance must be the criterion which measures obligation and responsibility, especially where preference has to be given to one kinsman over another. The stani led by Theodoros Ferendinos includes, as well as his married brothers, two cousins; Pericles, a father's brother's son, and Demetrios, a second cousin whose mother and the mother of Theodoros are first cousins. In 1954, when this group could not find sufficient winter grazing, one cousin had to leave the 'company'. Inevitably this was Demetrios, even though he had

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a very intimate friendship with Theodoros' youngest brother; and despite the fact that Pericles was idle, quarrelsome and inefficient. Similarly, when a man visits another neighbourhood he will always stay at the huts of his first cousin although, on personal grounds, he might prefer to be entertained by a more congenial but more distant kinsman.

These facts are easily understood. A collateral kinship bond is a relationship derived from a pair of siblings. It makes a sensible difference whether this derivation is at one or two removes. And this is so not only on grounds of sentiment but also in relation to the limits of the kindred. The children of first cousins are members of the kindred but the children of second cousins are not kinsmen. The first is a growing relationship, the second is not. A man who is 35 years old will generally know all his first cousins, but sometimes there may be a number of his second cousins whom he has not met personally, although he will always know something about their families and their affairs. Second cousins are on the margin of kinship, people who are nearly 'strangers'. They remain kinsmen who must be guarded and cherished but there is some diminution of responsibility towards them. These facts are illustrated by the different behaviour of first and second cousins which may sometimes be observed at weddings. In the quarrels which flare up on these occasions between unrelated guests, there is always the danger that fighting may become so violent and general that the wedding festivities have to be abandoned; this is a great disgrace for the family which is acting as host. It is noticeable that a bridegroom's first cousins feel it is their responsibility to prevent this both by the swiftness of their intervention, where their own kinship alignments allow this, and by the restraint they hold over their own feelings when they are themselves concerned in some incident. Second cousins on the other hand abandon themselves more easily to considerations of injured dignity and self-regard and, in the rush of blood to their heads, temporarily forget their duties to kinsmen.

Yet despite the general importance of kinship distance as a measure of obligation and solidarity, a quality which is particularly characteristic of the kindred is its flexibility. If a man has interests in some part of the community where he can find only a second cousin, or an uncle who is a cousin of one of his

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parents, he may yet establish with him a relationship which is closer and more significant than the relationships he has with other kinsmen genealogically less distant but living in places where his affairs do not lead him. Similarly, if a man is forced by circumstances to co-operate in sheep management with a distant uncle or second cousin this transforms a genealogically distant connexion into a close and very significant kinship bond. Naturally, a man normally prefers to co-operate and have intimate friendships with close relatives, but in their absence, or where there is an exceptionally strong personal preference for an individual kinsman who is not closely connected, a distant kinsman is, as it were, 'drawn in' so that what becomes significant is the fact of relationship and not the genealogical distance separating kinsmen. This potential efficiency of any kinship relation is perhaps reflected in the way a man refers to a cousin when he is in his presence. In explaining that a man is a first cousin he will say, 'He is my first cousin', but of his second cousin he will only say 'He is my cousin'. By omitting any reference to the distance of cousinship, the effect is to draw the distant kinsman nearer to the man who is speaking. It might be said that an individual has two kindreds; the first is the 'ideal' kindred in which conflicts of obligation and responsibility to kinsmen are measured by formal kinship distance; the second is the 'effective kindred' in which the frequency and character of kinship intercourse which actually takes place, and the practical needs of a man and his family, are also important considerations.

Genealogical connexion beyond the limits of the kindred is not normally of any significance. Men who are third or fourth cousins may possibly be aware of this fact but in general it does not make them behave towards one another differently than they would if they were unrelated. But if a man possesses wealth or influence in the community so that some advantage is to be gained by claiming relationship with him, then he often finds that his 'effective kindred' extends beyond the conventional range of second cousinship and comes to include third and even fourth cousins. When Sotiri Achnoulas, who unlike most of the Sarakatsani in Zagori has more goats than sheep in his flock, was dismayed at the promulgation of a government order forbidding the pasturage of these animals in certain areas of the

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Zagori, he decided to pay a visit to his 'cousin' John, a Sarakatsanos of wealth and influence. He was confident that John could help him through his influence over the local Member of Parliament. 'He has him in his pocket' (τὸν ἔχει στὴ τσέπη του), he explained. John and Sotiri are third cousins. This otherwise tenuous and formally unrecognized kinship link is 'drawn in' to provide a basis of mutual trust in a relationship which is clearly one of patronage. John, for his part, does not resent the importunate requests of his distant relatives. The ability to bestow patronage is its own reward, for it increases his prestige not only in the community of Sarakatsani but with such personalities as parliamentary candidates who compete for the votes which they believe he commands.

A man's 'effective kindred' may also be considerably more restricted than the conventional limits allow. This happens when a family possesses so little prestige that kinsmen would rather not have any unnecessary association with its members. A case in point is the family of Pistiolis at Skamneli which is desperately poor and although morally upright is almost socially outcast. The genealogical information which the father was able to provide was meagre. He did not even know where most of his first cousins were living, and of second cousins he could name only a few. Over a long period of years he had received very few invitations to the weddings of kinsmen, and although he travelled considerably, earning a pittance by carrying goods on his two pack mules, he was too ashamed to ask for hospitality at a kinsman's home in the places where he knew them to be living; consequently he always slept in the open, a circumstance which encouraged mocking remarks about his shaggy and uncouth appearance.

But besides the flexibility in the range of obligations to collateral kinsmen there are also situations which may lead to their complete abrogation. Trust and mutual confidence is the basis of kin relationship. Quarrels which question these qualities are rare, but where they do occur they are far more serious than the differences which are expected to arise between unrelated men. In the latter instance normal social relations may be resumed after a long period of estrangement, but in the former case, especially where one kinsman has publicly insulted another, confidence is permanently destroyed. The proverb,

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'Why is the wound in your eye so deep? Because my kinsman gouged it out' (γιατί'ν'τὸ μάτι σου βαθειὰ βγαλμένο; — γιατί μοῦ τό'βγαλε ξυάδι), expresses precisely this difference.

Between kinsmen who co-operate in a 'company' for the co-management of their flocks it is almost inevitable that from time to time differing interests produce a coolness in their relations. Yet it is remarkable how seldom these frictions develop into the kind of quarrel which causes an irreparable breach. A stern self-control is maintained by these kinsmen on their injured feelings because they know that they depend on each other's assistance in the struggle to survive the hazards, natural and political, which surround them. However, any form of dishonesty in their co-operative handling of the flocks destroys the basis of their association. Recently a cousin who was herding his sheep with a 'company' of married brothers was discovered during the lambing season in the act of trying to attach a number of his kinsmen's newly born ewe lambs to his own ewes, and his own male lambs to the ewes which he had robbed. Inevitably, after such an incident, the trust between these kinsmen was permanently broken.

Incest (αἱμομιξία) represents the most dramatic form of deception that one kinsman can practise on another. Unmarried cousins of opposite sex enjoy an easy, friendly companionship with one another which they are denied with unrelated persons. Very occasionally a youth succumbs to the temptation of sexual experiments with a young kinswoman, an act in which he may destroy both the girl's honour and his own. It seems most unlikely that these affairs, if protracted, can ever remain secret in a community where there are so many questioning eyes. Over a period of ten years I discovered three probable instances, of which one was incest between first cousins. In this case a youth was staying in his uncle's house and there, it seems, seduced the unmarried daughter. The cousin had left his uncle's house before it became apparent that the girl was pregnant, and he naturally denied from a distance that he had had any hand in the matter. The girl for her part claimed that she had been impregnated by divine, not human, means, but little attention was paid to this suggestion. The girl's family did not take any drastic action in the matter beyond disposing of the child when it was born. The girl herself was allowed to live; and in fact, a year or two

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The girl herself was allowed to live; and in fact, a year or two later was married off to a poor widower who extracted a considerable dowry in consideration of her blemished history. Although the girl had an unmarried brother no action was ever taken against the alleged seducer. The family claimed that it would not be right to kill a first cousin (any more than a brother) whatever the crime committed, and there are those who agree that there was some force in this argument. But there are others who do not hold this view and believe that the family made a virtue of a dishonourable preference. In any case the family emerged from this affair with its honour destroyed. Needless to say, all forms of social intercourse have ceased between the kinsmen concerned. This involved the destruction of the relationship between the brothers who were the heads of the two families. Incest between first cousins is a sin, for the same blood turns in upon itself in the pollution of sexual intercourse. It is something which goes against nature and something also which inevitably wrecks the whole scheme of kinship relations.

Sexual intercourse between second cousins is still described as incest but it cannot be said in quite the same way that it is an act which goes against nature. Second cousins are kinsmen but they are, also, nearly 'strangers'. Men know that in the towns the Church, from time to time, solemnizes marriages between second cousins, and that in two notorious instances in recent years such marriages have even been contracted by Sarakatsani. But so far as premarital sex relations are concerned the choice here lies between calling them incest or fornication. Whichever term is chosen to describe the liaison, it is less an unnatural sin than conduct of the deepest dishonour. As one man put it with ironic scorn, 'It would be better to marry your own sister' (καλλίτερα νὰ στεφανωθῇς τὴν ἀδερφή σου). But although an illicit affair between second cousins is serious enough, for it inevitably destroys the girl's honour and the relationship between the two parents who are first cousins, it does not have quite the same catastrophic consequences for family and kindred relationships as incest between first cousins.

It is clear, then, that where there is a flagrant breach of the norms of kinship, the relationship is annulled. The trust which is the basis of kinship relations is an axiomatic value in Sarakatsan life which is never questioned. From the injured kinsman's point of view there can be no extenuating circumstances which

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two previous occasions he had more wisely confined his attentions to gipsy women. His family was in any case poor and of low prestige. There was nothing at all to be said in his favour. He had a number of kinsmen among the Sarakatsani who graze the lands of the same village, and of these the closest was Evangelos Balatsos, a first cousin. Evangelos and the other kinsmen all joined in the universal condemnation of Nasios. During the weeks which followed Evangelos made a point of going each day to the home of Nasios and unnerving him with imaginary accounts of the plots and ambushes which the husband of Mitrina was preparing to lure him to his death. So thorough were his efforts that for the next two months, until the Sarakatsani left for the winter pastures, Nasios was never seen outside his hut in daylight. Evangelos after his daily visits to Nasios made his way to the coffee-shop where he described to an appreciative audience the state of affairs in Nasios's household, how he remained each night, sleepless behind the door with axe in hand, and how his wife was obliged under cover of darkness to remove his faeces from the hut. In this fashion Evangelos took a leading part in the shaming of his kinsman, and saved his own name by denying solidarity with his kinsman and damaging his reputation.

The possibility of losing the moral and practical support of kinsmen, perhaps for ever, is clearly a most powerful sanction of the norms of kinship behaviour and the values of the wider community. If Nasios, a poor man who herded the sheep of villagers, had possessed a substantial flock and had therefore been dependent on the help of kinsmen in a 'company', this estrangement from his kinsmen would have affected him even more seriously than it did. It is also evident that the application of this sanction by the kinsman is itself sanctioned by the threat that a man and his family may lose prestige if he does not temporarily abandon the evil-doer. Since the interests of the family always take precedence over obligations of individual collateral kinship, there is never any doubt that a man will conform. We see, not for the first time, the connexion between prestige values and the isolation of the family; for these values necessarily threaten the solidarity of any personal relationship or social grouping which may conflict with a man's duty to uphold, or promote, the prestige of his family.

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their hosts, they are not necessarily related to one another. Men whose pride is always sensitive become tense with nervous excitement and excess of alcohol. An alleged word or act which is interpreted as insulting, or the memory of a past grievance, may be the occasion of a quarrel; and this, if it is not controlled at once, may end in general violence by mobilizing support for the antagonists along the lines of kinship allegiance. As I have already suggested, these fights give very tangible expression to kinship bonds. But there are, also, less dramatic forms of communion. During the three days and nights of sustained revelry there are occasional breaks of an hour or two when musicians rest or the company observe some item of wedding custom such as the display of the bride's dowry. Then kinsmen sit apart and exchange their news of families and marriages, sheep and politics.

Guests come to a wedding to support their kinsmen. They do this not only by their presence but also by lending practical assistance. Among the men this applies particularly to the first cousins of the bride or groom. These relatives take a hand in preparing the carcasses of the animals for roasting by fixing them on spits. Later they supervise the fires over which the spits are turned and they baste the meat to prevent it from burning. They cut up the whole animal into individual portions. When the meal is ready it is the first cousins who assist the brothers of the family to lay cloths on the ground, pass round forks and spoons and finally hand to each guest his individual portion of meat. After the meal is over it is again first cousins who stand in the middle of the dancing, one with a bottle of ouzo and the other with a plate of cheese or olives to give refreshment to the sweating dancers. These are not considered to be menial tasks; on the contrary, it is a privilege of close kinship to be allowed to assist in this way.

The women hold their sombre, almost melancholy, celebrations apart from the men in a nearby hut where they sing and sometimes dance. Here, again, the close female relatives of the family assist in handing round the food. But of the women guests it is the old grandmothers who play the most important role. Outside in the open-air kitchen they preside over the huge cooking-pots of potatoes, stews, and soups, enlivening their labours with gossip and attended by dogs and children anticipating scraps.

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585 612 to make the bridal procession the spectacular occasion it must appear if their prestige is to be maintained in the community. [492] They give this support by their numbers, their own bearing, and the quality of their horses and the coloured woollen saddle-cloths which are draped over the backs of the animals. For whenever the procession passes through or close to a village both Sarakatsani and villagers line the path, to enjoy the spectacle with critical eyes, and to exchange greetings with the [522] riders. The watchers laugh excitedly and try to draw the riders into an exchange of bawdy quips and jokes, but the horsemen must remain unmoved with upright backs and proud serious faces.

Earlier on the same Sunday morning before the bridal procession sets out on its journey, the bridegroom is prepared for [302] his ordeal. Seated on a chair outside the door of his hut he is attended by a kinsman with the necessary skill, who cuts his hair, shaves his beard, and trims the moustache. This, like the sewing of the standard, is a part of customary wedding ritual. [533] The kinsmen gather about the groom and accompanied by the gipsy band sing about the shaving of the bridegroom. From time to time the singing is interrupted by heated debate between the watching kinsmen and the barber as to the style of the hair cutting, the angle of the moustache, and the effectiveness of the shaving. For they fear the appraisal of strangers on the road and the malicious hopes of the bride's kinsmen that the bridegroom will in some way look ridiculous.

585 605 292 After the barber has completed his task, two or three of the more senior first cousins with a reputation for worldly knowledge go into the hut to supervise the changing of the bridegroom's clothes (ν'ἀλλάξουν τὸ γαμπρό). The Sarakatsani [178] have abandoned the traditional kilt and today the prosaic costume of a bridegroom consists of a white shirt buttoned to the neck without a tie, and a blue suit of manufactured cloth. [754 833] The cousins help their young kinsman to put on these clothes to which he is not accustomed and they make certain that he does not change his underclothes; for with these an envious man or woman might affect the sexual potency of the groom by sorcery. As a prophylactic against the same peril they place some steel object in the folds of the shirt tails before he puts it on. As he is 585 605 dressed, almost like a child, they feed him with various pieces

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of good advice, telling him in detail how he must deport himself that day on the road and later at the home of the bride.

At the home of the bride kinsfolk support her family in a similar manner, particularly in a number of situations where a measure of dramatized hostility is shown to the groom's party when they arrive to take away the bride; but these are episodes which I shall describe in the following chapter. The dressing and adornment of the bride, naturally, is a more elaborate affair than the preparation of the groom. In this, two or three senior married aunts or first cousins generally take a hand, assisted by the more sophisticated village dressmaker who in most cases has been responsible for cutting and sewing the white wedding gown. All through the long night of Saturday the bride sits in her parents' hut. She must not sleep for this would demonstrate an equanimity at odds with the grief she is expected to feel at the thought of leaving her parents and her home on the morrow. Her kinswomen sit closely round her. Two of them hold her hands. From time to time they sing the repetitive, intensely sad, songs that tell of the bride's departure from the only home she has ever known.

* * *

In this chapter I have attempted to give a fuller description of the relations of collateral kin than it was possible to present in chapter three, where I was mainly concerned to describe the formal characteristics of the kindred. I mentioned, then, that various aspects of kindred relations might be seen in terms of an opposition between the solidarity of siblings and the principle of parental obligation, the former being the source of moral solidarity between kinsmen, the latter strongly influencing the isolation of the family group from the collateral kinsmen of its members. The 'free favours' which a man does without thought or calculation for an uncle, cousin, or nephew, are related to kinship solidarity, the qualities of which follow from the notion of an extensive sibling relationship; while calculated co-operation, which involves the corporate wealth of family groups is influenced by the particularistic obligations of parenthood. As one might expect, those cousins, father's brother's children, whose families of origin were concerned in co-operative sheep

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612 management, are the cousins least likely to form those impor-
● 605 tant links of devoted friendship. Since marriage is patrilocal it is the fathers of these cousins who experienced the various constraints of life in an extended family. These considerations do not generally apply to the other categories of first cousin who
[572] normally live in other neighbourhoods. It is among these relatives that a man finds his intimate friends. For these cousins are able to emphasize in their behaviour the altruistic qualities of collateral kinship, particularly in the performance of free favours. Various considerations, then, tend to identify the interests of collateral kinsmen, others to set them apart. We may
612 look at this from another point of view. The fact that for any
571 individual the community is divided into the opposed categories of kinsmen, 'own people', and non-kinsmen, 'strangers', is clearly a factor which unites people who can trust one another against the rest of the world who are not to be trusted. Generally, a man can only co-operate with a kinsman, find a true friend among his cousins, talk to an unmarried girl who is a kinswoman, and so on. However, the members of a man's kindred are not undifferentiated. Some are close kinsmen, others more distant. There is not quite the same measure of responsibility and obligation to a second cousin as there is to a first. Moreover, as children grow up their parents are more concerned with their own descendants and less with collateral kinsmen. But, quite apart from any considerations which relate specifically to the internal structure of the kindred, questions of prestige are
[558] always a potential threat to the solidarity of kinsmen. Kinsmen are identified in the thoughts of outsiders and if one man loses prestige, whether it is due to moral error, poverty, or physical deformity, his kinsman suffers with him. In these circumstances his only defence is to withdraw temporarily or permanently from the relationship.

Sarakatsani are fully aware of the fragmented character of
[528] their community. They realize that one man's hand is turned against another's. They continually lament the distrust which exists between unrelated men and the element of calculation which must exist even in the relations of kinsmen who co-
[554] operate at work. They value their relations with kinsmen who live in other neighbourhoods not only for the various practical reasons we have elaborated, but because of the generally

/135 cont./

602 571 182 Nevertheless, before going further, we should emphasize that our account would be incomplete if we did not mention particularly a complementary but interesting aspect of all the practices that we have cited: once having entered the system of kinship and alliances, the individual as well as the group find themselves socially labeled and classified once and for all, and know from then on who are their friends or possible adversaries. Hence/comes/ a feeling of security and integration, constituting a solid basis for the development of their relationships and their social activity.

/136/ The Principles of Married Life.

585 602 The life of the two spouses complies with some principles of extreme importance for the understanding of Sarakatsani society. The folklore of marriage, on the one hand, and some examples of the spouses' behavior, on the other, are very revealing in this respect.

[520] [494] [605] [572] [492] The day of the nuptials, which is always a Sunday, a procession made up of the fiance's male and female cousins, as well as his friends (namely, the young people of the Tseligato) forms at his house. All these people proceed on horseback to the dwelling of the fiancee, where they must take the latter and lead her to the abode of her future husband to celebrate the nuptials.

585 602 536 [583] Having arrived at the home of the young girl and while the women step aside, the men of the procession confront the men of the future wife's family. The two sides are armed. A mock battle is then engaged in, the companions of the fiance pretending that they want to carry away the young girl by force. In the course of this battle a goodly number of shots are fired on both sides. Afterwards the men of the fiancee's party withdraw as though "beaten" and a song follows the battle, simulating a [533] [539] dialogue between the future spouses:

--Awake pretty girl with eyes of a young partridge
I have come to your dwelling...
--Since you are here, be welcome
There is a place for you...(etc.).

-/335 cont./

128 764 We shall divide the description of the funeral customs of the Sarkatsani in accordance with the different aspects of the layer in question.

SOCIAL ASPECT OF FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

763 LAYING-OUT AND LAMENTING THE DECEASED.--MOURNING.

[602] At the moment of the death struggle only close relatives have the right to assist the dying one. The others withdraw in order to give him the opportunity to express his last wishes to those close to him. This is a matter between the family group and him alone.

764 593 604 [605] When the dying one has breathed his last, the laying-out is begun. If a young man is involved, his mother, his father, his brothers, his cousins and his uncles undertake it. If it is a married man, his wife is added to the persons just metioned. If the deceased is a young girl, it is her mother, her sisters, her father and her aunts who take part. If it is a married woman, her husband assists the other members of the family.

764 834 As we see, the choice of persons who have the right and the duty to undertake the laying-out of the deceased, hence to see and touch the nude corpse, follows the rules which, while he is alive, permit or forbid close and intimate relations with persons of the opposite sex. Evidently, it /336/ is a rule based on "modesty," but which, in reality, is based on the rules of marriage and the functions of kinship that are familiar to us.

764 [589] Unmarried persons are dressed in a wedding costume, for it is shameful to die unmarried. Funerals then become a marriage with the earth! (12) Married individuals wear their best outfit.

[171] 12. This is an idea and a custom very widespread throughout Greece. Antigone, condemned by Creon, laments that she must die celibate.